1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 . SK6 Choroti SK6
Toba SI 12

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»pea-shooters» of reed.[1] With the latter they fire off hard kernels, clay pellets, etc. Very small children are given small rattles made of woody fruit shells with dry kernels inside, which make a rattling noise when shaken. Girls are very fond of playing with dolls. These are modelled in clay by some female relative, usually the girl's mother, and are usually fashioned in the shape seen in fig. 176. This doll, which represents a woman with strongly developed breasts, is, however, not from the Choroti but from the Toba, a tribe with whom I also came in contact during our journey. It would appear as if the Choroti mothers in making these dolls attach the greatest importance to reproducing the breasts as true to nature as possible, and often they also try to copy the tattoo marks on the face. The Choroti dolls, however, often being made either without, or with very small, heads, the tattooing is mostly marked on the breast of the figure.[2]

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Fig. 174. »Hockey» stick, consisting of the leaf-stalk of a palm. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/9. Riksm. 03. 3. 203.

Not only Choroti children, but also grown-ups occasionally while away time by string tricks more or less resembling those which children of our own country sometimes amuse themselves with.[3]

I have had frequent opportunities of seeing Choroti children at play, and have found their games and sports in many ways similar to those of our own children. Indian children play »tag», play being at war, at hunting and fishing, and also imitate other occupations and doings of their elders.

Fig. 175. Hand ball, of maize leaves. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/9. Riksm. 03. 3. 199.

Fig. 176. Child's doll, made of clay. Toba. Gran Chaco. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 805.

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), fig. 33.
[2] Cf. Nordenskiöld (20), figs. 4—18.
[3] Nordenskiöld (13), fig. 35.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

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arms are made. I have not seen similar slings among any other tribe.

The *Bolas*, too, is only found among the Choroti and the Ashluslay as a toy or as a boy's weapon. There are no stones to make the balls, so these are made of wood.[1]) FRIEDERICI[2]) has indicated the distribution of the bolas. He mentions the Aymara, Quichua, Mojo, Mataco, Abipone[3]) and other Chaco Indians, the Araucanians and other allied tribes, the Indians of the Argentine pampas, the Patagonians and some of the Fuegians[4]). To this list may be added the Querandi[5]) at the mouth of the R. La Plata.

Fig. 7. Ashluslay Sling. R. M. (A. 1555).

Stones similar to those used for the bolas have been found in an extensive region in the west and south of S. America. A good deal that has been written about these stones is passed over by FRIEDERICI in the treatise just referred to; v. IHERING[6]) has written about these stones in S. Brazil. RIVET[7]) who offers us a very complete résumé concerning their distribution, is of the opinion that they were used in different places for different purposes. It must therefore not be assumed that wherever bolas-like stones have been found, the bolas was in use. EDER[8]) mentions the

[1]) See »Indianerleben» fig. 24.
[2]) (1) p. 34.
[3]) Also as a toy. FRIEDERICI (1), p. 34.
[4]) See also COLAZZI, p. 124.
[5]) SCHMIDEL, p. 150.
[6]) (1), p. 73.
[7]) (4) p. 177.
[8]) p. 209.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
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around the forehead in the same manner as when other heavy burdens are carried. While being carried the pitcher hangs on the back. No other Indians in S. America, except the Quichua (Fig. 44)[1]) and possibly the Aymara, carry their pitchers in this manner on a cord passing through the two ears of the vessel. It reminds one not a little of the method prevailing among the Incas of carrying the «Aryballes» (see Fig. 43) so characteristic of the Inca period, and it ap-

Fig. 46. Clay doll. Indian woman with bearingband. Choroti. R. M. (D. 346) 2/3. A = tattooing.

pears to me by no means improbable that the water-pitcher now used in the Chaco is a development of the aforementioned Incan type on which was also carried a rope. It is evident that the idea of carrying earthenware vessels on a rope, as well as the ears of the vessels (see page 212) is derived from the Western area of civilization. «Aryballes» are found in North Chile, in N. W. Argentine, on the Bolivian tableland, in the mountains and on the coast of Peru, and in the mountains and on the south coast of Ecuador. This type of vessel is considered by BOMAN and UHLE, no doubt

[1]) WIENER, p. 128.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
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XXIII.

Games and Playthings.

Two kinds of games can be distinguished among the Chaco Indians, viz. games of chance and games of skill. The area of occurrence of the former shows that they have come to the Choroti and the Ashluslay from the civilized area in the west. Games of chance in S. America have consequently an evident westerly extension. (Map 27). They are mentioned by GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA[1]) and by COBO[2]) with regard to the Incas, by MEDINA and MANQUILEF and others as to the Araucanians in Chili, and by LUIS DE LA CRUZ as to the Peguenche in Argentina. During my travels in the Chaco I have seen games of chance among several tribes mentioned below. HAWTREY mentions games of chance among the (8) Lengua and DUCCI among the (9) Toba de Taccagalé.

The (1) Choroti as a rule play games of chance in the following way. First they make a Counting-board on the floor, i. e., they make a row of shallow holes. (Fig. 47).

Holes 1 and 21 are the «homes» of the opponents. In each of these holes a peg or an arrow[3]) is stuck at the beginning of the game. In 2—10 and 10—20 smaller pegs are

[1]) Libro II, Cap. XIIII, p. 40.
[2]) Vol. 4, p. 228.
[3]) See ERIC VON ROSEN (I) Pl. 17, 1.

[text continues on p. 155]

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6

stuck, usually called «sheep»; 11 is empty and is called the lake or the river[1]). 524

Two, four or more persons can play. For dice they have four pieces of wood which are convex on one side and, on the other, flat or concave. The convex sides are often ornamented.

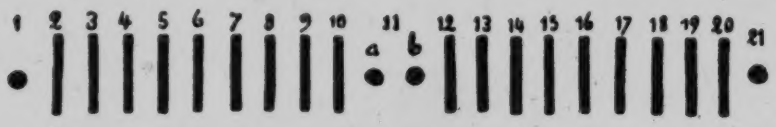

Fig. 47. Counting-board of the Choroti.

The players take two wooden dice in each hand and throw them against each other so that they fall on the floor. The points are reckoned thus: —

4	convex	sides	up	counts	4
3	»	»	»	»	0
2	»	»	»	»	1
1	»	side	»	»	0
0	»	»	»	»	2

Thus, if A begins and throws 2, he puts his arrow in 3; should he thereupon throw 1, he puts it into 4, etc. A plays until he throws 0, when B begins and plays until he throws 0. When A gets over 11 and B under 11, they knock out the pegs from the holes to which they come. The aim is to be first to knock out all the pegs on the side of one's opponent. Play is always from one side to the other, turning at the «homes». When a player catches the marker of his opponent, the latter is knocked out and must begin again, not, however, from his «home» but in the hole nearest to the home where he has a peg. This is knocked out. When all the pegs of one's opponent are knocked out, the opponent's

[1]) These explanations I have received in Spanish. The Chané and the Chiriguano call 1 and 21 «0» «home» and 11 they call «0» water. The Tapiete do the same.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

marker has to be knocked out. Having done that, one has won the game. Should anyone while playing reach 11, i. e. fall into the water and not succeed in getting away at the next throw, but throw O, he must return to the hole in which he still has a peg nearest to «home». Should only the two markers be left, and one fall into the water, the player not succeeding in getting away at the next throw, but throwing O, the game is then drawn.

With small variations the Ashluslay, (6) Mataco, (7) Toba, (3) Tapiete, (4) Chiriguano, and (5) Chané play in a similar manner. The number of «sheep» a player has varies somewhat in different tracts but his opponents have, of course, always the same number. Only among the Choroti and the Ashluslay is the lake or river duplicate. The reason is unknown to me.

The Chané Indians call this game «Chunquánti». Cobo[1]) writes that the Indians of Peru have a game which they call «Chuncara». In this game they made use of a flat stone or a piece of wood in which five holes were hollowed out. Beans of different colours served as markers. A die was cast, and according to the result of the cast, the player proceeded in the holes until the end was reached. The first «home» counted ten, the second twenty, and so on till fifty.

Garcilasso de le Vega[2]) says that the Incas called the players «Chuncа Camayu» and all games «Chuncа» ten. This was because they always counted in tens in their games.

«We play», in their language, was «Chuncasum» which means literally «we reckon in tens». It is evident that the

[1]) Vol. 4, p. 228: «*Chuncara* era otro juego de cinco hoyos pequeños cavados en alguna piedra llana o en tabla: jugábanlo con frisoles de varios colores, echando el dado, y como caía la suerte, los mudaban por sus casas hasta llegar al término: la primera casa valía diez, y las otras iban creciendo un denario hasta la quinta, que valía cincuenta.»

[2]) Gómara says, p. 278, of the Inca: «Juegan con un solo dado de cinco puntos, que no tienen mayor suerte.»

[3]) Libro II, Cap. XIIII, p. 40.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
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Chané have received the name Chunquánti from the Quichua language. The Choroti word for game, «tsúka», and the Ashluslay name «tsukoc» are plainly derived from Chunca.

Just as in Sweden backgammon players, in counting, use words derived from the French language, e. g. «tres ess, cinca dus, troya-dus», etc., the Indians of the Gran Chaco employ words for reckoning derived from the Quichua language. When the Ashluslay and Choroti make a cast counting four points, they say «tauva» which, in the Quichua tongue, signifies four. When reckoning in other connections the Ashluslay say «it-chat-cúch» for four and the Choroti «imulitse» or «imujlitsi». When the Ashluslay throw three points they say «chimí». Three, in the Quichua tongue, is «quimsa», in the Ashluslay «pú-shana». The Choroti, for the same throw, only mark two, and say «kirá». Otherwise they say for two «ti-mes» and for three «nahape». For one point the Choroti say «tsúka» and the Ashluslay «tsuká» which is also the first name for the game. «Chunca» signifies ten in the Quichua tongue and we recollect that, according to GARCILASSO, the Incas in their games always reckoned in tens.

This circumstance, that the game of chance in question has in the Chaco a name derived from the Quichua language and there used for «game» generally, and the fact that, in the Chaco, Quichua expressions are made use of in games *show that the Tsúka or Chunquánti game derived originally from the area of civilization in the west.*

As I have already pointed out in an article in the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie in 1910, there is a remarkable similarity betwen the Tsúka or Chunquánti game and certain North American games described by CULIN. It would appear from this that these games or, at least, similar games belong to a very ancient layer of civilization in America.

In another article in the above mentioned magazine I have recently endeavoured to prove that some peculiar objects found in Peru and Ecuador, and described at length by

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
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Games with maize leaf balls which are struck with the hands (Map 29) have quite an different area of occurrence. Balls of this kind occur in the collection of ERIC V. ROSEN (R. M. 03.3. 199—201) from the Choroti. I have seen balls of this kind among the (4) Chiriguano, (40) Guarayú, (23) Churápa, and (24) Chimane. K. v. d. STEINEN[1]) mentions them from the (28) Bakaïrí and (14) Bororó, KOCH-GRÜNBERG[2]) from the tribes on the Rio Caiarý and Rio Aiarý, ST. CRICQ[3]) from the (46) Conibo on the Rio Ucayali, SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR[4]) and BOGGIANI[5]) from the (12) Mbayá, KRAUSE[6]) from the (13) Karajá, HAWTREY[7]) from the (8) Lengua, IM THURN[8]) from the (47) Macusi, GILIJ[9]) from the (74) Tamanaco, and KOCH-GRÜNBERG[10]) from the (47) Roraima area as well as from southern (V 5) Venezuela.

Probably such balls are in vogue also among a number of other Indian tribes. It seems, however, that for the present, at least, they are to be reckoned among the elements of civilization occurring chiefly in the northern area.

Among the Choroti, Mataco, and Ashluslay there are some other playthings besides the above-mentioned. The playthings of Indian children have, however, been too little studied for us to be already able to determine the area of occurrence of the various playthings.

The Choroti, Ashluslay and probably also the Mataco make so-called *cats-cradles* I have also seen them among

[1]) (3). p. 329 and 496.
[2]) (2), Vol. 2, p. 126.
[3]) p. 289. »balle de feuilles de palmier» — *probably wrong; should be maize-leaf balls.*
[4]) Vol. 2. p. 18, Fig.
[5]) (2), Fig. 51.
[6]) p. 312.
[7]) p. 277.
[8]) p. 326.
[9]) Vol. 2 p. 267.
[10]) (3). p. 79, Fig. 8.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

the Toba, Tapiete, Yuracáre and Cavina. HAWTREY[1]) mentions cats-cradles from the Lengua, DUCCI[2]) from the Toba on the lower Pilcomayo, KOCH-GRÜNBERG[3]) from N. W. Brazil, ROTH, LUTZ and KOCH-GRÜNBERG from Guiana, KISSENBERTH[4]) from the Tapirapé and EHRENREICH[5]) and KRAUSE[6]) from the Karajá.

This game is undoubtedly played by many other Indian tribes, though nothing is known about it. The game, which is played not only by children but also by adults, is one of the elements of civilization the distribution of which can only be determined after further exploration.

A 524 481 The same holds good of stilt-walking. I have seen it among the Ashluslay, and elsewhere only among the Cavina on the Rio Beni. Stilts are also mentioned by KOCH-GRÜNBERG[7]) from the Siusí in N. W. Brazil and by MANQUILEF[8]) from the Araucanians. The *bull-roarer* may also be included here. In S. America this is seldom anything but a plaything. I have in my collections, besides those from the tribes here dealt with, bull-roarers from the Chiriguano, Chané, Yuracáre, Guarayú (Mission), Chacobo, and Itonama. KARL V. D. STEINEN[9]) mentions the bull-roarer from the Bororó, Mehinakú, Nahuquá and Bakaïrí and EHRENREICH[10]) from the Ipurina.

A C 524 The Choroti and Ashluslay have a kind of peculiar *dolls* (fig. 46) which I have described and illustrated in a special little article in the Ymer magazine and in my book »Indianerleben». Whence they got the idea of these dolls I will not venture to

[1]) p. 285.
[2]) p. 6.
[3]) (2), Vol. I, p. 120, 253 and Vol. 2, p. 127.
[4]) (2), p. 78.
[5]) (2), p. 30.
[6]) p. 312.
[7]) (2), Vol. I, p. 119.
[8]) p. 111. fig. 3.
[9]) (1), p. 327 and 498.
[10]) (2), p. 71.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

say. In addition to the above-mentioned tribes I have seen them among the Toba, Tapiete and Mataco. The Choroti dolls are remarkable for the face-tattooing being so accurately performed, though it is done on the body. Dolls made of the toe-joints of ostriches also occur among them. The Toba and, according to HAWTREY[1]), the Lengua also have dolls of this kind.

[1]) P. 297.

A C 524

Fig. 48. Skin-drum stick (2/10). 1/3.

A C 534

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

Choroti SK6

Chapter XIX.

Ceremonial games.

M 524 177

During my stay among the Choroti my attention was drawn to a curious game which was played in all villages in the month of March and evidently had some mystic meaning. The game later on turned out to be »international» in the Chaco, most tribes knowing it and playing it in somewhat different forms. The Choroti call it *syuke*, the Tobas *soka*, the Ashluslay *syúkak*, etc., names which are evidently nothing but different corruptions of the Quichua word *chunca*, ten. Similarly the playing terms in the Chaco are as it were international and of Quichua origin, a fact which seems to support the assumption that at any rate the principal ideas underlying the game have been borrowed from the Quichua Indians.

C 524

I have only studied this game among the *Choroti* and the description I shall give of it in the following pages refers merely to the variety of the game existing among these Indians.[1])

The dice consist of four pieces of wood, which are on one side convex, on the other side quite flat. The convex side is often ornamented with certain incised figures. (See fig. 10, a.)

The player takes two dice in each hand, throws them up smoothly against each other and allows them to fall on the ground. The position taken by the dice on the ground determines the value of the cast. The points are reckoned in the following way:

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[1]) Nordenskiöld described this game in 1910 in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, but its magical or religious significance — which, of course gives it its particular interest — has entirely escaped him. This may in part be due to the fact that Nordenskiöld never saw the game played at the proper season, the beginning of the »winter», but arranged playing-parties at an other season to learn how it was played. On the other hand, it is a well-known fact that many ceremonies, which are in their character magical or religious, have been misunderstood by ethnologists and regarded as purely profane entertainments.

M [114]

[p. 201]

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco

Choroti SK6

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4	convex	sides	upwards	counts	4.	This	is	called *tauva*.
3	»	»	»	»	0.	»	»	*lahipa*, nothing.
2	»	»	»	»	1.	»	»	*shuke*.
1	»	»	»	»	0.	»	»	*lahipa*.
0	»	»	»	»	2.	»	»	*kima*

The counting-board is drawn on the ground and consists of a crescent-shaped row of shallow holes or grooves, 23 in number (Fig. 10, *b*). The

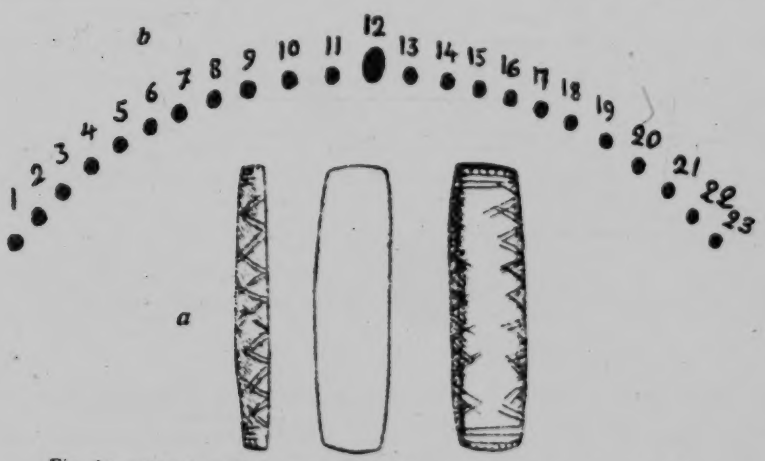

Fig. 10. The Counting-board for *shüke* game and the wooden dice.

numbers 1 and 23 signify the starting-points or »houses» of the players. In each of these grooves every player at the beginning of the game sticks an arrow which serves as a marker. In 2—11 and 13—22 small pegs or cobs of maize are placed, which are called the »sheep» of the players. The groove numbered 12 is empty and somewhat larger than the rest. This is called the »lake» or »river (*tauk*) and arriving there a player is said to be »drowned».

The players may be two, four, six, or eight. If we take the simplest case, when the players are only two, A and B, the game is played in the following way:

A begins and throws, for instance, 2 (*kima*). Then he puts his arrow into the second groove reckoning from his »house», that is to say into

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Matacc

Choroti SK6

number 3. He repeats his throw and throws for instance, 1 (*shuke*). Then he puts his arrow into number 4, and so forth. A continues until he throws 0, whereupon B begins and continues until he throws 0. B thenstarts from his »house» number 23, proceeding backwards. If a player passes the »river» (12) and enters a hole occupied by his opponent, he is entitled to throw out his opponent's »sheep». The object of the game is at first to throw out all the »sheep» of the opponent, the player passing from one end of the series of grooves to the other and back again. If a player succeeds in placing his marker (arrow) in a groove where his opponent happens to have his own marker, the latter is »killed» (thrown out) and has to start again from the beginning. Every player tries to throw out all the »sheep» of his opponent and at last his marker also. If he succeeds in doing so he has won. If someone during the game arrives at the »river» (*tauk*), he is »drowned», and if by the following throw he does not succeed in getting out, (that is, if he throws 0), he is obliged to go back to that groove situated nearest to his »house» where he has still a »sheep».

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Gambling is always connected with the *shuke* game, and the stakes lost — whether it be a collar, a shirt, a pair of trousers or some other valuable object — are always scrupulously paid as real debts of honour. This is no doubt in part due to the fact, that the *shuke* game is not a hazard game in the ordinary sense of the word, but has a ceremonial significance. If the debts were not scrupulously paid, the game would fail to produce the effect which the Indians expect of it, namely, the increase of the edible fruits of the forest.

525 789

What struck me particularly with regard to the *shuke* game was the fact that, at any rate among the Choroti Indians, it is only played at a certain time of the year, more strictly speaking, in the month of March, when the rainy season on the Chaco ends and the dry season or »winter» begins. Then everyone began upon it at once. In all villages *shuke*-dice were carved and the game went on every day for many hours, sometimes from early morning till late in the evening. This very fact seemed to me to indicate that certain mysterious ideas were connected with the game. Besides, the game was played in a strikingly intensive, almost nervous tempo and the results of every cast — *tauva*, shuke, *kima* — were always shouted out in a very loud voice, which could be heard far away.

524 789

The Chorotis expressly declared to me that the *shuke* game is played only at the beginning of the »winter», when the algaroba (*Prosopis alba*) and other edible fruits of the forest grow scarce. At that time a period begins for the Chaco Indians when they usually have to struggle very

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

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hard for existence. Now the game is supposed to have the effect of *increasing the fruit and making the Indians rich*. This is made possible by virtue of the fact that *among the Indians »there is always someone who wins«*, from whose luck all will benefit. The Indians believe that just as they can influence the course of nature, »hurry on» the growth of the crops, by beating drums, dancing, and shaking rattles, so they believe that at this critical period they can enhance the vegetative power of the useful trees and prevent starving by playing *shuke*. It seems to me probable that in this game the magical effects are produced merely by the procedure of playing — by the feverish pace at which the game goes on, and so forth — just as technique and the very rhythm play an essential part in such magical ceremonies as dancing and the beating of drums.

M 524 177 114

That the *shuke* game, so far as its principal features are concerned, has been borrowed by the Choroti from the mountain Indians, as has been suggested even by Nordenskiöld, is a matter beyond doubt and may be inferred from the playing terms themselves which are of Quichua origin (*shuke* = *chunca*, *taura*, and probably *kima*). On the other hand, it is certain that the Incas never had an exactly similar game, and Nordenskiöld's imagination carries him too far when he tries to show that certain objects, found in archeological excavations on the mountain area of Ecuador, are nothing but counting-boards which have been used for a game more or less identical with the *shuke*. [1] Nordenskiöld's curious idea of connecting the said mysterious objects with the *shuke* game of the Chaco Indians entirely loses its importance in the face of the fact that, as I have shown elsewhere [2], the ancient Peruvian and Ecuadorian Indians had several »games of chance», none of which bore the slightest resemblance to the Chaco game just mentioned. The map published by the same ethnographer, showing the supposed distribution of »games of chance» in South America, was therefore decidedly prematurely drawn. [3] The particular character of the Chaco game has obviously, in

[1] See his article »Spieltische aus Peru und Ecuador», in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Heft 2 u. 3, 1918, p. 169.

[2] See my *Ceremonial Games of the South American Indians* (*Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes humanarum litterarum*. Helsingfors, 1930).

[3] Whereas Nordenskiöld erroneously assigns the neighbourhood of Quito in Ecuador as a region where a game like the *shuke* has been practised, he knows nothing of the games of chance I have myself discovered later in that country: the *huairu* game practised in the southern and eastern mountain regions, the *huairitu* and *singu* in vogue among the forest Indians on the rivers Bobonaza and Pastaza.